

McCarthy fills 'positions'

Eugene McCarthy, making another serious bid for the Democratic presidential nomination, is campaigning in Wisconsin along with the rest of the prospective candidates. Advertising is heavy for all of them, with Hubert Humphrey denouncing corporate tax loopholes, Archie Bunker vouching for John Lindsay as an anti-War candidate, and Muskie speaking in Polish for the state's ethnic voters.

Scoop Jackson, on the other hand, says "I'm not wishy-washy. I'm not all over the lot. When they ask me about amnesty I don't make a speech. I say no." He and George Wallace both stress their anti-busing stands, and Wallace comes out against welfare loafers.

McCarthy is not on the airwaves, and grants that his nomination and subsequent election is unlikely. However, he has announced his Cabinet choices in advance. They include four women, two blacks and a Puerto Rican. As in 1968, McCarthy is the sole campaigner to name his advisors.

What are considered the two top jobs in the Federal government were awarded to women. McCarthy picked Barbara Tuchman, historian and author of "The Proud Tower" and "Stilwell," for Secretary of State. He has not yet made up his mind between two choices for Defense head: Israeli Premier Golda Meir or Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India.

"In 1968, I picked John Gardner (now head of Common Cause) for Defense, and I'd still give him consideration," he said. "But I'd prefer to have someone like Golda Meir; she has demonstrated how to defend a free government better than anyone we have had. I also thought Indira Gandhi might be Secretary of Defense, because she knows how to conduct a limited offensive war, and we haven't found that."

Indicating that he would ask for the resignation of J. Edgar Hoover, he chose a Washington Lawyer, Edward Bennet Williams, for the post of FBI director. "He said he'd accept, but only for two weeks. There are just a few things he wants to do . . . I think we might have a great big fire at the base of the Washington Monument."

For Secretary of the Treasury, McCarthy "favors" the only economist who makes much sense, John Kenneth Galbraith. And for Transportation, William Clay Ford, who "has a reserved judgement on the role of the automobile."

McCarthy stated that he would stay with his 1968 decision for Attorney General, David Lindsey, brother of New York Mayor.

"Since we've taken the post office out of politics and put the Justice Department in," said McCarthy, "it would be good to have a Republican in that job . . . and get the politics out of there."

For other posts McCarthy considered such others as: Sen. Warren Magnuson (D-Wash.) for Secretary of Commerce; Dolores Tucker for head of the Post Office; Rep. William Clay for the Housing and Urban Development appointment; Carl Stokes, former mayor of Cleveland, as head of Health, Education and Welfare; Sens. Gaylord Nelson or James Pearson for Secretary of Agriculture; LaDonna Harris, wife of Sen. Fred R. Harris and a Comanche Indian herself for Secretary of the Interior, and Rep. Herman Badillo, the first Puerto Rican in Congress for Secretary of Labor.

Visiting scholar to visit MWC

Professor Reuben A. Brower, member of the faculty at Harvard University, will lecture here today and tomorrow as a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Visiting Scholar Program.

A member of the faculty at Harvard since 1932, Brower holds the Henry B. and Anne M. Cabot Chair of English Literature. In addition, he has been a fellow of the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences. Brower has also been a visiting lecturer at Radcliffe College, Oberlin University, and Oxford University.

A member of Phi Beta Kappa, Brower also belongs to the Modern Language Association and the Classical Association of New England, and is on the managing committee of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, Greece.

A critic of literature, his publications include: "Dryden's Poetic Diction and Virgil," "Seven Agamemnon," "The Fields of Light," "The Heresy of Plot," and "Hero and Saint: Shakespeare and the Graeco-Roman Heroic Tradition."

For his publications, he has received the Phi Beta Kappa Christian Gauss Award, the Explicator Award, and honorable mention for the Harvard Faculty Prize.

His schedule of classes for today and tomorrow will be:

Monday: Latin 114—Intermediate Latin, 9:05 a.m., Monroe 18; English 413—Poetic Revolution, 2:45 p.m., Chandler 20, Topic: Session on Yeats

Tuesday: English 426—Shakespeare, 11:15 a.m., Combs 300, Topic: Macbeth: Shakespeare's Anti-Hero; Public Speech, 7:30 p.m., ACL ballroom, Topic: Reading, Writing, and Relevance

From the students' point of view, however, there is . . . something seriously lacking in the faculty's style. From teaching too long, they apparently have forgotten how to be taught. They take their lessons very ungraciously and seem to want to make their students suffer for having achieved a superior understanding of the true nature of their university.

MARVIN HARRIS, Columbia Professor, after the 1968 strike.

Most of our graduate students don't want to be academics, publishing or perishing and that sort of thing.

It used to be that students' greatest ambition was to be like their professors some day. Not now. They just will not play the game anymore. This makes it very difficult for the faculty. There are a lot of very upset people on the faculties.

PROF. IVAN SOLL of the University of Wisconsin, at the annual meeting of the American Philosophical Association, *The New York Times* 12/30/69

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There will not be a BULLET next week. The next issue will be April 17, 1972.

Honor Council announces poll results

The Honor Council recently completed tabulating the poll it sent out approximately one month ago. 1333 students out of the 2001 students in the student body returned a poll. In an effort to get feedback from all members of the college, the Honor Council urges all to read through the following questions and tabulations and contact one of the members of Council with your comments. Please contact one of the following before Thursday night when the Council will meet to discuss the results of the poll. We want to know your opinions too. Beth Conrad X314, Barb Barnes X458, Kathy Bradford X438, Meredith Smith X489, Nancy Barbour X454, Ann Bigley X455, Sandy Hough X458, Connie Bowden X439, Kathy Doyle X477.

	YES	NO
1. Is the Honor System working for you?	72%	19%
2. Have you ever committed an Honor violation punishable by our present Honor Code?	15%	79%
3. Have you ever witnessed a violation of the Honor Code?	29%	68%
4. Would you ever confront a person whom you suspected of an honor violation?	62%	29%
5. Please check any that are applicable: Would you turn another person in if you suspected him of lying 17% stealing 42% cheating 67%	20%	66%
7. Which of the following do you think is (are) deterred by the presence of the Honor System: lying 20% Stealing 42% cheating 67%.		
8. Do you think our Honor System should control: a) social violations 4% b) academic violations 41% c) both 53%		
9. Would you prefer more delineations of penalties for violations?	50%	40%
10. Do you believe that you live: a) in an atmosphere of mutual trust and respect 62% b) in fear of the Honor Code and/or a possible violation of it 16% c) not at all affected by the Honor Code 18%.		

- Should Mary Washington be guided solely by an academic code: i.e. academic violations handled by the professors and dealt with accordingly by faculty and administration? This is how it is at schools without Honor Systems. 16% 78%
- Do you think that the faculty should play a role in a) discovering 10% b) reporting 16% c) both 55% honor violations now?
- Do you feel that the Honor Council should include faculty and/or administrative officials as voting members? 39% 56%
- Do you think that professors should be obligated to take an honor violation to the Honor Council? 30% 65%
- Do you feel that "personal obligation" to turn someone in, referred to in the Honor Constitution and Code means a) strong moral commitment 52% b) you are violating the code yourself for not turning someone in 19% c) nothing 28%

- Does the Honor Council have the right to judge a fellow student for an honor violation? 86% 10%
 - Should the Honor Council have the power of absolute dismissal? 42% 54%
 - Would you like to see the Honor System: a) continued as it is 38% b) continued with more modifications (i.e. social separated from academic, more or less punishments, simplified; please be specific and name any modifications you would like to see 37% c) changed to an academic code 13% or d) abolished 5%
 - Do you feel it necessary to assign a pledge to every piece of written work? 22% 74%
- Finally, in an effort to find out exactly how important this is to this student body, and having provided you with an opportunity to think about the Honor System, we repeat the first question:
- Is the Honor System working for you? 75% 20%
 - Do you feel that we as students and as a community live by the Honor Constitution as we have pledged to do so? 49% 40%

Students approve Council changes

The following is the poll the Class Council distributed to the student body in order to obtain opinions on the structure of Class Council. It was passed by a overwhelming majority and will be put into effect at the end of the year with the election of new officers.

The goal of Class Council is to promote more and better social activities on campus. In order to accomplish this with maximum efficiency, we feel it is necessary to restructure the existing Class and Class Council structure. The revisions are such that the four classes will be working together on all social events. The revisions are based on the class structure as it now exists, changes are minor but extremely important.

Therefore: Be it resolved that the Class Council is now a separate entity with no connection with the Senate. The purpose of this break is not to rival the Senate, ICA, RA or any existing organizations on campus, but to allow Class Council to function as a body concerned purely with social activities on campus.

I. Each class shall elect four officers (President, Vice President, Secretary-Treasurer and Publicity Chairman). These officers shall represent the class at Class Council meetings, and act as a liaison between the class and Class Council. These four officers shall be voting members of Class Council. The Senior Class will also elect a Senior Alumnae Representative. She will not be a member of Class Council. It is strongly suggested that each class have an inter-dorm council. The purpose of inter-dorm is to involve as many people as possible, for communication between officers and class, to provide a body from which the officers can draw people to act as chairmen and committee members for Class Council events and to preserve the individual class identity.

II. The budgets of all four classes shall be consolidated, upon student approval of this proposal. This will provide one single treasury from which Class Council will finance all activities. This will provide an incentive for classes to work closely together.

III. The four officers from each class will be the voting members of Class Council. The officers of Class Council are as follows:

A. The President of Class Council shall be the President of the Senior Class. The President of Class Council will serve as a liaison between the administration and Class Council. She will preside over all Class Council meetings.

B. The Secretary of Class Council shall be elected from Class Council members. She will keep minutes of all meetings and handle all correspondence for Class Council. She will also be responsible for the Class Council newsletter. The newsletter shall be an accurate account of all Class Council activities and shall be distributed as often as the Council deems necessary.

C. The Historian of Class Council will also be elected from the members of Class Council. She will keep a scrapbook of all Class Council, and assist the Secretary with the newsletter.

D. There will be a Finance Committee made up of the Secretary-Treasurer from each class. (The chairman of this committee shall be the Secretary-Treasurer of the Senior Class. The chairman will keep an accurate record of all financial transactions and preside over all Finance Committee meetings.)

The function of the committee is to review all requests for allocations and also to set up a budget for Class Council. The Secretary-Treasurer of each class will be responsible for collecting dues from her individual class. She will also present any requests for money from her class.

E. There will be a Publicity Committee for Class Council. This committee consists of the four Publicity Chairmen from each class and also any interested student. The four Publicity Chairmen will elect amongst themselves a Head Publicity Chairman. The purpose of this committee is to publicize all Class Council activities.

IV. Class Council meetings will be held regularly and it is the prerogative of the Class Council members to decide how often meetings are necessary.

The advantages to this proposal are obvious.

1. More people could be involved in Class Council activities.

2. Consolidations of resources and talents would provide better and bigger social activities on campus.

3. Freshmen would benefit from the advice and assistance of upperclassmen.

4. There would be more activities on campus.

5. The organization would not be so large that we would lose all class identity, yet at the same time, there would be the atmosphere of a real community through the classes working closely together.

Williams announces congressional hopes

Murat Williams, Visiting Lecturer in the MWC Political Economy department, last Monday announced that he will run as "the tax reform candidate" for the Democratic nomination to Congress in the June 13 primary election.

"There are things this country must do which it is not doing," he stated "and things which the people of the Seventh District want done which are being left undone." Among these, he specified that, "We must close tax loopholes," which give unfair advantage to "the ultra-rich" and make sure that the "unfairness to the great majority of American taxpayers" is eliminated.

Williams attacked the administration's fiscal policy, labelling it "the underlying cause of its inability to meet the needs of this nation." "It is wrong," he said, "when some people with incomes over \$200,000 pay little or nothing in taxes... while the vast majority of Americans with incomes in the lower and middle ranges have to sacrifice much greater percentages of their earnings."

He said "the tyranny of government debt" will continue to burden the American taxpayer "unless we undertake genuine tax reform."

Williams was the Democratic nominee for the Seventh District congressional seat in 1970 and will be making his second bid for public office.

He predicted that a majority of Seventh District Virginians would use their vote to "express their belief that we must close tax loopholes, straighten out our tax structure, and make sure that every American pays his fair share."

Students presented Senior class honors

Monita Fontaine outlined her plans for the "progressive growth" of Mary Washington College at spring convocation Tuesday night in Klein Memorial Theatre.

In her address, Fontaine described MWC as "a fine school with beautiful grounds" but also stressed that it has "a great deal of potential." She described three courses of action MWC could take to shape its future as an independent institution. Fontaine first enumerated the steps that would result in the regression of this school. She said that apathy about Mary Washington College's future would result in the easing of admission standards, reduction of funds, and the cutting back of faculty. Fontaine described this as a very real possibility, stressing that "a school can die of indifference."

The second possible future Fontaine outlined was that of an unchanged MWC "remaining about ten years behind other universities." She attacked the present "status quo" with its "absence of criticism" stating that this school should "no longer exist for the benefit of those who ruin it."

Finally she described a future of "progressive growth" at MWC which would "remove the obstacles to individual fulfillment." She stated that "This year the foundations were laid" to facilitate this, and that she hoped to further these efforts. In conclusion, Fontaine stated that "we need a goal to work toward to make MWC a school we can be proud of years from now."

At convocation the new Student Association officers and Honor Council president were sworn in and awards were presented to seniors. Ann Bowling received the Thomas Jefferson Cup for service and academic achievement. Mary Saunders earned the Senior Service Award on Behalf of the Faculty. Betsy Smith, Battlefield editor, dedicated the 1971-72 yearbook to the memory of the late Robert Shaw who was a mathematics professor at MWC until his death last March. Senior class president, Barbara Taylor, presented the class gift of \$800 for the independent research fund, started this term. Who's Who certificates were also presented at the convocation.

EDITORIAL

The faculty: our enemy?

There has been much written about the degree to which Mary Washington College measures up to an academic institution. But there has been very little consideration of that group which is the most responsible for making MWC what it is today; the faculty.

In a time when even the "lowly" housewives are on strike against the conditions under which they live and work, the faculty remains quiet and passive; allowing the administration to fire their fellow faculty members, to force class overloads on them, to dilute their teaching and private time with appointments to meaningless committees that do nothing anyway, to run their own faculty meetings, and, in some cases, to instruct them in how to act and not to act in their private lives.

Jerry Farber, a member of the faculty at California State College, put it very simply and accurately. He said that the faculty is our most dangerous enemy. They are so because they have very little guts.

Saul Alinsky said that the faculty possesses a great potential in helping to change our society by acting as outside mental agitators. This attitude takes for granted that learning is only effective if it

... I must help myself out from twilight and sleep... exert myself to arouse and shape half-grown and half-dead faculties in myself, if I am not in the end to escape into a sad resignation, where one consoles oneself with other unripe and powerless beings, and, when a crisis comes, confronts the demand of humanity with one's negative virtue. Better the grave than such a state. HOLDERIN, 1794

is shared; directed but not forced. To facilitate this type of education, it is essential that a university or college be run for and by the students and the faculty.

This obviously is not the case. The administration, those glorified custodians, run the schools, and the faculty either finds it easier that way or is too weak to do anything about it.

A lot has been said about student activism. But what about faculty activism? The most feeble excuse for passivity that exists, is the mumblings of "professional dignity." It should be obvious that the only dignified faculty member, as far as the administration and the state is concerned, is the one who had made it to the top of the barrel; the one who sits in a private bathroom in George Washington Hall.

So why do the faculty members remain passive? Maybe it is because they haven't really overcome that frustration that comes with once being a student. Maybe

that still feel that powerlessness and don't really know how to deal with it.

Or maybe it's because they know that if they are good boys and girls, the administration will allow them to continue in their privileged position of being one rung higher than the students. And when their children are losing respect for them; their husbands or wives dominate them; their next-door neighbor who dropped out of college, is driving a bigger car and belongs to the country club, feeling bigger and more important than someone is very necessary.

The faculty has a great deal of latent power. A university can exist without an administration, but it cannot exist without a faculty. But those faculty members are only going to be effective and powerful people and educators when they admit that they don't know all the answers and decide to do something about it.

L.C.

In support of tenure

One of the intramural jokes of the academic profession is that a faculty member with tenure may be dismissed for one or both of only two reasons—gross immorality and insanity—and the second is impossible to detect in a college professor.

Like all such pleasanties, this one, of course, is stated. Actually tenure is a question that has been of concern to the academic profession for many years and it is an institution—won with ardor, industry, and some pain—that has come in recent years under increasingly attack, both from the political right and the political left. Before considering the substance and the merits of these attacks let us consider the meaning of tenure as outlined in the famous 1940 Statement of Principles of the American Association of University Professors and the Association of American Colleges and since endorsed by every learned society of any significance (73 by 1969) in the United States.

The Report concerns both academic freedom and tenure. The two, in fact, are inseparable, since the former is the principal and sufficient justification for the latter. It is possible, however, to extract parts of the Report that deal with tenure itself. An early statement follows:

"Tenure is a means to certain ends; specifically (1) Freedom of teaching and research and of extramural activities, and (2) a sufficient degree of economic security to make the profession attractive to men and women of ability. Freedom and economic security, hence, tenure are indispensable to the success of an institution in fulfilling its obligations to its students and to society."

This preamble, unfortunately, is defective in that it fails to recognize that tenure is also a benefit to society; that is, it guarantees to a society that its more articulate members will be free to criticize its institutions without fear of economic reprisal and that in the long run the society will gain from such criticism. Byse and Joughlin express this point in their *TENURE IN AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION* (1969) as follows:

"Academic freedom and tenure do not exist because of a peculiar solicitude for the human beings who staff our academic institutions. They exist, instead, in order that society may have the benefit of honest judgment and independent criticism which otherwise might be withheld because of fear of offending a dominant social group or a transient social attitude."

In other words, society rather than the individual is the ultimate beneficiary of tenure.

The part of the Report that deals specifically with tenure follows. It merits careful attention:

"(a) After the expiration of a probationary period, teachers or investigators should have permanent or continuous tenure, and their service should be terminated only for adequate cause, except in the case of retirement for age, or under extraordinary circumstances because of financial exigencies.

"In the interpretation of this principle it is understood that the following represents acceptable academic practice:

"(1) The precise terms and conditions of every appointment should be stated in writing and be in the possession of both institution and teacher before the appointment is consummated.

"(2) Beginning with appointment to the rank of full-time instructor or a higher rank, the probationary period should not exceed seven years, including within this period full-time service in all institutions of higher education. . .

"(3) During the probationary period a teacher should have the academic freedom that all other members of the faculty have.

"(4) Termination for cause of a continuous appointment, of the dismissal for cause of a teacher previous to the expiration of a term appointment, should, if possible, be considered by both a faculty committee and the governing board of the institution. In all cases where the facts are in dispute, the accused teacher should be informed before the hearing in writing of the charges against him and should have the opportunity to be heard in his own defense by all bodies that pass judgment upon this case. He should be permitted to have with him an adviser of

his own choosing who may act as counsel. There should be a full stenographic record of the hearing available to the parties concerned. In the hearing of charges of incompetence the testimony should include that of teachers and other scholars, either from his own or from other institutions.

"(5) Termination of a continuous appointment because of financial exigency should be demonstrably bona fide."

All of this would seem to be simple, clear, and correct. Unfortunately, attacks on the tenure principle continue. The ACLU's Academic Freedom Committee, accordingly, devoted a number of meetings in 1971 to an extensive discussion of the issue.

Before considering some of the criticisms directed against the principal of tenure, we may reiterate that the reason for tenure is that it serves as an essential bastion of academic freedom. No other instrument has been devised that can protect a professor from the imposition of political tests or continued appointment. No other device can so well assure that the professor's freedom of research and publication is protected against the vagaries of changing political tides, educational fads, and social fashions. Without tenure a professor's academic freedom would be limited and constrained by the need to please—or at least not to displease—those, including legislators, trustees, colleagues, administrators, and students, whose favorable opinions he would otherwise require for re-appointment. Indeed, the argument for tenure in the academic profession is the same as that in the judiciary. If an independent judiciary is necessary for the successful operation of a democratic society, so also is an independent professoriate.

Tenure, however, is not an absolute guarantee of permanence. A tenured professor may be removed but only for cause, as normally stated in the statutes of the university. Tenure does not give him the right to behave offensively toward his colleagues, to mistreat his students, to decline to meet his classes, to spend more time on external pursuits than on his teaching duties, to teach only the courses he wants to teach, to set his own teaching schedule, to engage in plagiarism or otherwise to violate the ethical standards of the students and publish it under his own name, to commit with impunity a wide variety of other offenses against his profession, and most especially no right to violate the academic freedom of others.

See page 5

"Well Mom, It Happened"

by Jim Bettinger, Editor, University of California,
Santa Barbara, "El Gaucho."—Ed

Well, mom, it happened. You remember how you told me that I damn well wasn't going to Berkeley after the Free Speech Movement? How I was going to go down to that nice little beach school where all the responsible parents were sending their kids and where Kirk Douglas sent his son and where the fraternities and sororities taught people how to behave and where there weren't any demonstrations and how it was becoming a socially important school and what a beautiful Spanish town Santa Barbara was and how you wouldn't have to worry about me while I was here? Well, mom, it happened.

It happened to a lot of us. It happened to a whole educational generation—the generation of students who were seniors in high school when Berkeley broke wide open for the first time four-and-a-half years ago.

We are, in large part, the result of our parents' fears for us. And we are also, in large part, the result of our own fears, because Berkeley was something that we weren't sure we could handle.

We had this wonderful image of college—the Ozzie Nelson fun-time image, where you went to classes and then everybody bopped down to ogle each other at the malt shoppe where Pop (everybody called him Pop) served sodas.

And maybe if there was nothing else to do, like root the freshman squash team on, or wander through the student store trying on sweatshirts, you might talk to someone about things that could happen after Saturday night, or you just might study, even through David and Ricky didn't have to. You just might.

And of course everyone—but everyone—wore blue cardigans and sharp khakis and a white dress shirt, open at the neck, and scuffed white bucks. The girls (they were never women) belonged in toothpaste ads—the old kind, when mouths didn't have sex appeal and brassy chicks didn't go around throwing kisses at guys in armor plate.

For better or worse, this was the way we saw college. Even after Berkeley in 1964, we thought the rest of the schools had stayed the same, that only Berkeley, with its beatniks and pinkos, had changed.

This was the way our parents say college, too. Those parents who were college educated came along during the late 1930's or early 1940's when going to college was really a privilege, because you were either escaping the Depression or escaping the war.

And in those days, college really was a place where you could get away from the social reality of a scared country. We had just had our confidence in capitalism shaken to the core, and now we were being attacked by the vilest war criminal the world has ever seen.

The colleges and universities had not yet taken their loyalty oaths to the nation. The military had not yet discovered that in the laboratories of American education there resided a treasure trove of unimagined utility. We were still free of its financial resources as well.

Those of us whose parents did not go to college know even more graphically the effect economic disaster had upon them. Perhaps none of them will ever quite be able to escape the feeling that apple stands are just around the corner.

Yet we came from an affluent society—the most affluent man has ever known. We had our own cars, our own television sets, full wardrobes of clothes; we controlled major industries with our buying habits. Rock 'n' roll had never sold to anyone over 20, let alone anyone over 30.

So we came to college, in large part, not for any overriding goal of intellectual achievement, but more because it was the final step in our socialization process. We were going through the ritual of four years' duration so that when the University spit us out in 1969, we could be able to take our place in society as full citizens. We wouldn't be educated, we would be confirmed. We would be quality controlled.

But somewhere along the way, quality control misfired. Instead of turning out progressively more consuming and complacent junior executives, the system is turning out progressively angrier, progressively more skeptical students. It started four years ago, and it will continue to do so until there is a drastic change in the priorities of our society. And all the cries for "lawncorder" in the world can't change this basic fact.

Why is this taking place? Why is the most affluent, the apparently most free, the seemingly most progressive society getting deep dissatisfaction out of its institutions of higher education? Closer to home, why are we discontent (or as some would call us, malcontent)? What has led to our specific and general dissatisfaction with American life and society?

Never has it been easier to enrage students than it is today. After more demonstrations than I care to count, I come away sobered by the depth of feeling the students who take part in these demonstrations and disruptions have. It is almost a feeling that logic has failed, reason has failed, the channels have failed. It is a feeling that the only moral thing left to do is shout at the system, for if you shout at it, at least it has to pay attention to you. If you shout at it, at least you will have cleared your conscience.

It is a very pessimistic and sometimes very anti-human feeling. A feeling that there is really no humanity left to respect. It is a feeling one might expect to come from a person being physically tortured and, finally being able to stand it no longer, who gives a last cry of defiance before his tormentors do away with him.

The big problem is that our parents, our schools and our churches told us to be idealists. If they had never mentioned the Declaration of Independence, there would be much less student unrest today.

Our ideals can remain important to us only if they withstand the test of reality. They can remain strong only if we feel that we can work toward them, and many students feel that there is no chance of this left.

The second big problem is that the University made a decision, perhaps unconsciously, to try to deal with reality. It made some small decision somewhere—perhaps it was not even considered a decision at the time—to lay its idealism on the line and see how relevant it was.

And things went along well for awhile, because the first area in which it tried to become relevant was national defense and industry. In this area, the scientific expertise of the ivy-covered colony was of premium value. It wasn't political, because no one could argue against defending the country. It wasn't radical, because it fit in with our national hardware store philosophy of national security.

(If we can't convince those commie bastards that we're right, we can at least blind them with the glare from our Nikes. And then we can blow them up.)

The decision threatened nothing in American society, and, in the last analysis, this meant that it would never be severely questioned. Oh, there were a few fellow-traveler scientists who worried about whether a man had to take responsibility for weapons he had created but over which he had no control, but for the most part, the Edward Tellers prevailed and others quickly learned that without money, you can't do one hell of a lot of research.

And then came the blacks. Along came Jones, and he wasn't sweet-talking white America at all. Ten years later the country was in an upheaval.

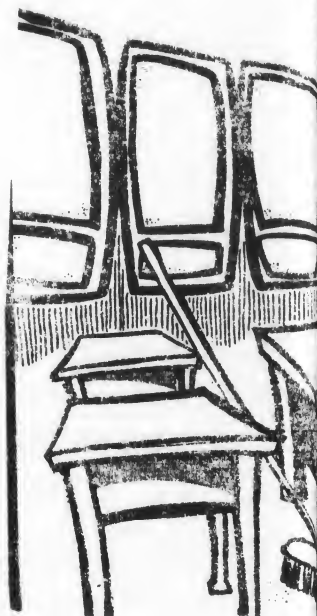
The blacks, more than anyone else, jolted America's moral senses. While they were invisible, whites could ignore them to a large extent. They

could speak freely about the freedom in America, because it was not within the realm of their experience to consider the degradation of black America.

But the blacks became visible, and suddenly all the talk about the land of the free was just that—talk. Politicians, editorialists, preachers and businessmen sounded more and more irrelevant when they soared to the heights of patriotic rhetoric.

The Civil Rights Movement was only the start. The North could look at the South and cluck its tongue over how terrible the situation "down there" was. It could wonder how any area could allow the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens' Councils, and the overt racism that was displayed in the segregation laws.

And in 1964, then-Governor of Alabama George Corley Wallace polled 34 per cent of the Democratic primary vote in Wisconsin, 30 per cent in Indiana, 43 per cent in Maryland, and the myth was shattered. Racism was everywhere.



In that year, too, the riverboat gambler from Texas (by this time operating from Capitol Hill) decisively defeated the rugged reactionary from Arizona by running, at least in part, on a peace platform. Our generation graduated from high school four months after he had started bombing North Vietnam to show how serious he was about his quest for peace.

So the males of our generation always had the war in Vietnam hanging over their heads, and with it, the draft. At first, one always had to identify which war he had in mind; after a while, it became simply The War.

The draft, meanwhile, did more to keep college enrollment up to par than any economic or intellectual incentive. Every time during those years that we felt we weren't learning anything, that we were becoming increasingly irrelevant to our society, that we wanted out, all we had to do was take out our wallet, look at the little card with its II-S that said, "Do Not Disturb," and remember how lucky we were that we wouldn't have to transfer our fraternity affiliation to the new house, the Mekong Delta.

The War kept us from leaving the University for reality, but it couldn't keep us from trying to bring reality to the University. This generation of college students has been more concerned with, and more effective in, using its own spare time and energy in social activism than any other previous generation.

It is amazing that we should take for granted the efforts of our fellow students. 1900 of them have worked this year through the facilities of the Community Affairs Board, tutoring, working with the youth of Goleta, raising funds for Camp Conestoga, and organizing a number of other projects for the direct benefit of both the campus and the wider community.

But there was more to it than just going out to the community for service projects. There was also an attempt to bring society to the University, with speakers, seminars and special events. We felt isolated out here—we felt like we could too easily forget there was an outside world.

And the blacks and chicanos kept coming, brought here by a University and federal program (EOP) but ultimately responsible only to themselves and their communities.



A lot of us didn't like what they were saying. We tried to make Black Power what Nixon is trying to make it—economic tokenism. And, as they confronted us with the realities of the ghetto, we reacted in one of two ways—we either took the white liberal burden of guilt and agreed with everything they said, or we defensively took a conservative stand and agreed with nothing they said. The people who were willing to do more than just agree or disagree were rare birds.

It was hard not to play white liberal. There was no way we could escape the degradation of black America, and sometimes we thought that by agreeing with their analysis, we had somehow "become black," that we were therefore entitled to speak for the blacks. We talked a lot about revolution.

And it was easy to be defensive. The blacks were attacking us on our home grounds, and we felt human enough and had been weaned enough so that we felt that fighting back when attacked was the honest thing to do. We talked a lot about opportunities.

And when it came right down to it, we didn't do a damn thing, because we still really didn't know our selves. We were still afraid to make that commitment because we couldn't know what the consequences might be. We didn't know what this commitment might require of us. We wanted so much to say that we had not compromised our ideals, and that is one helluva lot easier to do if you don't have any.

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Professor lauds tenure practice

from Page 3

Tenure, in short is not a guarantee of security under any condition. It is designed to convert the dismissal process so that dismissals on ideological or political grounds can be forestalled or clearly identified as such. The academic right to dissent would be weakly protected if institutional curtailments of it could masquerade under other names. The prime purpose of tenure, and the due process safeguards that are its essence, is to reduce the opportunity for masked intolerance.

It is time to confront directly the arguments against tenure that have recently found expression in various sectors of society:

1. By what right do university professors regard themselves as a special class immune from the risks of the marketplace risks that afflict every other occupation in society from business executives to taxicab drivers?

The answer to this criticism has already been given. Tenure is a benefit to society and not only to an individual. As Fritz Machlup has observed: "With respect to some occupations, it is eminently in the interests of society that men can speak their minds without fear of retribution . . . The occupational work of the vast majority of people is largely independent of their thought and speech. The professor's work consists of his thought and speech."

2. Tenure prolongs the economic security of weak, etiolated, and intellectually impotent has-beens who would otherwise have failed of re-appointment years earlier in their career.

The answer to this one is that the tenure principle helps to prevent such appointments in the first place. A tenure appointment involves a sedulous process of evaluating candidates not only by senior colleagues but—frequently at the better universities—by an outside committee of leading figures in the candidates field as well. Indeed, the candidate is also compared to outsiders of equivalent rank who pursue the same line of inquiry.

It is true that mistakes are sometimes made, and that the young person who appeared to have superior competence in his field at the time the tenure decision was made turns out, 20 years later, to have been outdistanced by other men. Mistakes are made because human institutions, like human beings, are less than perfect. It is rare that those denied a tenure appointment ever become leading figures in their fields. One can think of maverick exceptions, like Thorstein Veblen for example, but their number must be almost infinitesimal.

The tenure principle, far from being a refuge for the indolent, is thus an important and primary guard against the locking-in of incompetents. Without it simple compassion and collegial friendship would encourage the re-appointment, year after passing year, of those who have nothing to contribute to their chosen field of inquiry beyond the doctoral dissertation. With it, only those who have won recognition for the quality of their work by at least the sixth year after initial appointment can satisfy the exacting requirements of permanent appointment.

That tenure contributes to, rather than detracts from, the excellence of universities and the level of scholarship and science that appears there is further attested to by the fact that the top 20 universities in the United States today (as judged by the Carter Report of the American Council of Education) are all proud subscribers to the principle.

Finally, if it were the case that tenure protected sloth lethargy, and inefficiency, it would also be the case that American scholarship ranked higher on the world exchange before tenure became broadly institutionalized in this country (prior to, say, 1940) and that places where tenure is least securely anchored have a qualitative edge over those where it is most entrenched. Since neither of these corollaries is true in fact, one has reason to be suspicious of the premise.

3. But is it not a fact also that tenure prevents a university from improving the quality of its faculty?

This belief also fails to survive examination. It is encapsulated in a familiar metaphor. A university, it is said, contains and must somehow divest itself of "dead wood." Professors, like other men, may of course grow moribund. For this reason it is important, and fair to all, for universities to have a compulsory retirement age (even though some may be senile at 60 and others creative at 80). But surely a university is not a lumberyard, collecting and sorting finished

things. In fact, a university is a society, and it shapes as well as assembles its materials. University X goads its faculty into scholarly achievement by its mixture of plentiful concrete rewards and its tacit but unmerciful expectations. University Y opens no broader vista after tenure than salary increases for longevity and no more scintillating examples than veterans mired in domestic chores. The first produces normative antibodies against the natural tendency to go slack; the second would enervate its members even if it had the authority to dismiss them on the spot. The warehouse metaphor is, then, doubly mistaken. It ignores the extent to which men sink or rise to the level of their social circumstances. And it presumes, against all the facts of psychology, that one stick—expulsion—and no carrot—distinction—governs what men aim for and achieve.

4. Because of the conceded possibility of mistaken decision, why should a university not be able to re-examine the qualifications of professors at, say, five or 10 year intervals?

The first reason is that this would not be a tenure system at all. It would not be a tenure system at all. It would not be a tenure system because if insecurity has a chilling effect upon the exercise of academic freedom over a period of one or two years it would also chill over a longer period. Sometimes five or even 10 years are required for the completion of an important book or major piece of research. Would a professor dedicate one-seventh of his life (using the Biblical estimate) or more than one-fifth of this career life to a work that might arouse the wrath of society if one of its rewards were to be dismissal from his chair?

The second reason is that the suggestion suffers from serious practical difficulties. It is hard to imagine how this so-called reform would increase faculty productivity. If an institution can afford the manhours that would have to be devoted to repeated search-and-possibly-destroy operations, it either has an extraordinarily productive faculty already, or else a grossly under-used one. For it is clear that there would have to be, as in the case of initial appointment; been and professional participation in the re-evaluation process. Would an institution be well-advised to multiply by the number of existing staff members the time now devoted to the screening of each candidate for appointment and then again for a tenure decision?

Should it not also be clear to those who now, when universities are in financial distress, begin to think in terms of criteria like "cost-effectiveness," that an incalculable price would be paid for the use of massive re-appraisals if these coincided with campus turmoil? It is dismaying to imagine what would have happened if the members of the Columbia faculty had to seek approval from their fellows in the divisive year of 1968. What factional groupings would have taken shape, what defensive blocs and clique aggressions! The bounds of inner fellowship at Columbia (and elsewhere too) were reknit in part because the tenured faculty was not empowered to be their brothers' keepers—or forsakers either. Tenure, in addition to its other virtues, performs the vital function of protecting academics against themselves.

5. Would not collective bargaining agreements serve as well as the tenure principle as guarantees of job security?

The impact of collective bargaining upon tenure, as upon other academic procedures, has yet to be assessed. It betrays a want of current understanding, however, and a talent for perverse prophecy to assume that the elimination of the tenure system as we know it would result in the elimination of job security. The tendency marked in certain parts of the academic system is toward replacement of that system with a yet more security-conscious collective bargaining arrangement. A reading of the contracts agreed to by administrations and faculties represented by exclusive bargaining agents recognized in law reveals that these tend to shorten the period of probation, during which the administration can exercise evaluative discretion, and to require a more exacting procedure for non-reappointment even then. The tip does not go toward greater flexibility, but toward more rule-laden constraints.

6. What effect does tenure have on university governance?

An altogether salubrious one, and one that realises also to the undesirability of term evaluations of faculty performance. The recent Harvard Report on Tenure (DISCUSSION MEMORANDUM

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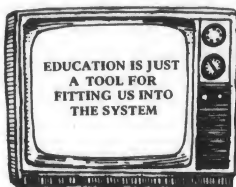
Education, communication

from page 5

We were willing to go to rallies, to be sure, and we were willing to sign petitions for any worthwhile cause, but we were unwilling, for the most part, to really dig into the situation and find out what could be done.

The administration was handy, so we confronted it. We were angry, but we never stopped to think why we were angry. We thought we knew, but we never could have been more wrong.

John F. Kennedy said once that "those who make peaceful revolution impossible, make violent revolution inevitable." If violent revolution is inevitable, then it is we who have made the peaceful revolution impossible.



Because, all that the blacks and chicanos were really asking for was to be treated like real human beings with economic, social and educational needs which are basically the same as all mankind's. We refused to do that—our white liberal guilt was based on the premise that they were different and were to be treated as such. And the guiltiest are those who profess their liberality and sympathy the most. Methinks the revolutionary doth protest too much.

And on the other side, those of us who reacted defensively simply could not see the problems which the blacks and chicanos faced. Wrapped up in our own smug sensibilities, we never really understood why they mistrusted the channels.

We have spent the last four years confused. We have done our little bit for society, with our tutoring projects and our service clubs, and yes, our newspapering, but we have never really understood why. And maybe this is a partial reason for the rage we sometimes feel.

But there are other reasons, too. There is this tremendous feeling that no one is in control of anything. We are not in control of our own lives—and we can't find who is.

by Lavonne Lloyd

Whenever a consumer finds some product that does not live up to the claims made by its manufacturer, that consumer screams, "False advertising!" Maybe the same idea should be applied to college concert series.

The concerts at Mary Washington College this year have been a pretty wonderful combination of the arts. From Seals and Crofts to the Harkness Ballet, audiences have thrilled to performances that pleased the eye and touched the spirit. Then came the Canadian Opera Company and its version of Offenbach's "Orpheus in Hades."

In the first place, the name was all wrong. A more suitable title might have been "Orphy Baby in You-Know-Where." In the second place, a lot of ticket holders anticipated seeing an opera made up of arias and clever recitative. What they got—well, that was something else.

When the curtain rose on the first act, there was a big surprise on stage. Gone were the stuffy sets and heavy costuming of the traditional presentation! What was left was a jazzy little place replete with lawn table and chairs, mailboxes, cocktail glasses, and a blond Eurydice, whose blue eyes and flighty mannerisms fit all the prerequisites for the stereotyped "dumb blond." At that moment it was refreshing.

By the beginning of the second act, disappointment had set in. The problem was that the whole

It is as if we have created some technological juggernaut which is running roughshod over all our human frailties and capabilities. You can wake up sweating some nights thinking that all the computers in the world have hooked up together with telephone lines (courtesy of Bell Telephone's scientific progress) and our massive communications complex is about to annihilate us. As the society grows larger and more diverse, our technology grows larger and more unified. The answer for most people is a re-humanization of our social contacts, to make us believe that each of us really has something unique inside.

A second answer is to lose oneself in the growing morass of information, so that one becomes responsive, not to other people, but to charts, graphs, books, and the pyrex jungle of a laboratory.

For still others, the answer is simply to destroy the technology—perhaps humanity is not quite ready to use our knowledge effectively (except in the killing of humans). If the tools escalate man's Stone Age emotions, then maybe the elimination of them will prevent his emotions from destroying him.

Perhaps the real answer is a combination of the first two possibilities. The joining of humanism and technology would seem to be the same theme as the original Renaissance, and could possibly have an even greater effect upon civilization. But, of course, here one has to watch out for an overdone emphasis: an emotional technology or a technological emotional-ity are both contradictions in terms.

All of which leaves us where we started: confused. EL GAUCHO has been in the middle of this confusion all year. We have at times been the guilty white liberal, the smug reactionary, the white radical, the harried student, the hassled administrator, the removed faculty member and the frightened human being.

Newspapers are of course technological, and they more often than not tend to fall into the category of being responsive only to information and not to people. We said at the start of the year that we were going to try to change that to a certain extent: "To communicate through symbols is one of the most human things a person can do. We expect to be a very human newspaper."

But to say one is going to communicate and to actually communicate effectively are two very different matters. Communication is a very fragile phenomenon, depending upon trust, clarity, perception, interest, and a very nebulous area called

thing was too clever. Having Public Opinion enter from the audience in Victorian garb was a well-chosen ploy, but the entrance of Orpheus' students in hot pastel academic gowns with dyed-to-match panties and violins was sophomoric hocus. Dressing one of the students in green anklets, high heels, glasses, and freckles was the kind of idea that might have originated with a group of punchy junior high cheerleaders. Then there was the infantile temper tantrum thrown by the goddess of the hunt, the "let me make one thing perfectly clear" Nixon impersonation by Jupiter, the phone call for the Latch-String in Eurydice's chamber, ad nauseum.

"common ground." The German poet Goethe once said of a poet that "as long as he expressed only these few subjective sentences he can not yet be called a poet, but as soon as he knows how to appropriate the world for himself, and to express it, he is a poet."

This is what writers of all kinds are trying to do deep down. Newspapers are really only a medium for this appropriation and expression—and out of that medium has grown a whole other standard, objectivity. To the extent that objectivity helps facilitate this expression of the world, it is valuable, though objectivity is not an end in itself.

But have we been a human newspaper? That is a difficult thing to discern, or while we have felt sometimes that the medium did not allow us to express ourselves openly, most of us have never felt dehumanized by it.

There is another matter, and that is the trust that many people put in a newspaper. They put that trust there because they largely believe us, and to the small extent that EL GAUCHO starts out with this trust each year, it is a good thing. But trust, once again, is a fragile thing; it only takes a few small mistakes (or one major one) to taint it beyond repair. There is that element of humanity in the paper, the need to be respected.

And there are other elements, too. We felt that this year was, above all, confusing—there were never any easy decisions to make, and we felt that we had to convey this element of student thought as well as the others. Perhaps we emphasized this element too much, but events have a way of doing that to people.

Early in September, then-City Editor Rick Roth said that "there's going to be a time this year when everyone around us is going to be losing their heads, and we're going to have to keep ours." (Rick also noted the other side of this analysis: "If you can keep your head while all around you are losing theirs, then maybe you aren't very cognizant of the situation.") We picked the first analysis, and tried to stick to it all year. Whether or not this was the right decision, only time will tell. We are proud of it.

And so we leave 1400-odd pages of Vol. 49 to gather dust on the shelf. They will be referred to only for minor statistics ("How many votes did Knell get last year?") and the amusement of love rich with technical and philosophical errors. So be it.

But future staffs will also know, because they themselves involved in the day-to-day grind of producing a relevant and factual newspaper, that we took our work seriously. For many of us, EL GAUCHO has been our education in the realities of sociology, politics, and psychology. We wouldn't trade it for the world.

And now we leave, most of us for the big bad world, where there are no professors, no students, and the University is a dirty word. Some of us will take our places quietly, but most not so quietly, for the experience gained there has taught us that a dream is worth fighting for and maybe dying for.

Peace, brothers and sisters.

But let's not condemn the entire production. It was an interesting change from the tedious staging sometimes allotted to operas of this period. Some of the singers had an opportunity to demonstrate marvellous voices, especially Bacchus, whose role was designed to capture the sympathy of the audience and did. Students whose eyes were bleary from mid-term all-nighters found a way to laugh and relax.

What is needed is a little more explicit and truthful advertising. Then the people who have never seen opera will see it, and the people who want to hear opera buffa will not be subjected to opera burlesque.

Concert series provides

'teeny bopper' entertainment,

not cultural enjoyment

Tenure supports freedom

from page 5

ON ACADEMIC TENURE AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY, Cambridge, Massachusetts, November, 1971) takes cognizance of the increasing drain upon faculty time by service on an administrative and departmental committee and goes on to say:

"These burdens have accumulated in part because of each Faculty's express desire to involve its members more intimately in the administrative and decision-making process of the University, and in part because of students' desire for more numerous and more accessible officers within each department, as well as in the Administration. This Committee (The University Committee on Governance), itself a symptom of these developments, is in turn in its various recommendations, proposing additional faculty involvement of this nature. Perhaps this is the place to register a particular, and often forgotten argument in favor of the institution of tenure: how many faculty members would be willing to assume administrative tasks, or even a committee assignment, to forego professional meetings for meetings of one or another council or committee, or to supplant the writing or scholarly articles with the gestation of tedious memoranda on the true meaning of the true dean if — when and if they returned to full-time scholarship and teaching—they could expect to be exposed to annual or some other short-term assessment of their credentials? In this respect, if in no other, the institution of tenure is essential to the self-government of the University."

7. What about the vulnerability of untenured personnel to dismissal (or non-reappointment) as compared with those on tenure? Where is the equity in this arrangement?

The abolition of tenure would simply extend the vulnerability from seven years to an entire lifetime.

Furthermore, academic freedom requires that

all faculty personnel, untenured as well as tenured, be protected against arbitrary actions based on factors unrelated to academic competence. This is the case now under ACLU and AAUP principles, and it would continue to be the case. Incidentally, the most junior faculty members also has tenure and may not be removed without cause during the term of his appointment.

There is, however, one difference. In the case of the untenured professor the burden of proof that the negative decision was based upon him. In the case of the tenured professor the burden of proof is on the university. Both, however, are entitled to due process.

Here again, however, the institution of tenure is a boon to the untenured professor caught in a circumstance where political considerations are the covert reasons for non-reappointment. The tenured members of the faculty, who suspect the sincerity of the overt reason, can spring to the defense of their junior colleague without jeopardizing their own appointments.

The Harvard Report on Tenure mentioned above contains in its concluding paragraphs pertinent and penetrating comments on at least two of the matters discussed above—the preservation of the incompetent and the merit of frequent review of tenured appointment:

"Finally, it should be stressed that one of the most valuable implications of a tenure system is that it forces an institution to make hard and important choices in its selection of personnel. It would no doubt be possible for Harvard to devise a panoply of review procedures, governing the middle years of a tenured professor's life, that would in effect place every faculty member of term appointment. It would do so, however, at an immense cost to the institution as well as to those who serve on its Faculties—losing both intellectual freedom and ebullience, sacrificing commitment, loyalty and the willingness of Harvard professors to serve the University in ways

that are not stipulated and could not be stipulated in any imaginable contract. But such a system could be devised and devoted to weeding out a handful of 'incompetents,' of rectifying the 'mistakes' (as when the candidates who, at the age of 35, promise to be the first in his field is, alas, overtaken a decade or more later), and of thereby guaranteeing that, at Harvard, none but the 'best' would ever be continued.

"But the facts of history and probably even of human nature suggest that this would not be the result of a system designed to assure a perfect meritocracy. The so-called 'Up or Out' system devised for the Faculty of Arts and Sciences in 1939 came about as a response to a decade or more in which assistant professors were compassionate charity of their colleagues and the Administration, and of most men's unwillingness to make hard decisions as to the future of their many friends and students. No institution should legislate against such qualities of character, but one of the great advantages of a tenure decision being forced on a date certain is that the institution must at last decide. In the 1960's to be sure, the academic market was such that a tenure offer was more than once used to keep a young colleague at Harvard. For the foreseeable future, however, this economic situation will not so regularly pertain, and the natural disposition will be to defer as long as possible the moment of decision. In such circumstances, the absence of a required time for tenure will quite possibly be disastrous for the individuals involved, as well as for Harvard."

The university, like other social institutions, cannot and should not claim immunity from persistent examination and criticism. And so also for the principle of tenure. A thorough examination of this principle, however, results in the conclusion that it continues to be an essential support of academic freedom and that vigilance is required to protect it against the assaults that arise especially in times of financial stringency and social unrest.

Robert Bierstedt, professor of sociology of New York University, and Walter P. Metzger, professor of history at Columbia University, are members of the ACLU's Academic Freedom Committee.—Ed.

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